

banishment process and then had to press for an end of the practice. In wrapping up the final “official” costs of the banishment campaign, the Board of Aldermen paid \$61.70 to the Atlantic Coast Line for sending 7 blacks and other whites out of the city on the day after the riot.⁴⁸ Further, with black leaders removed from the city, a new set of men had to be found to serve as liaisons between the whites and blacks.⁴⁹

Blacks and whites continued to leave the city over the next few days, and their departures were “allowed” by the Democrats who were satisfied that the “worst and most objectionable leaders in the city” were banished.⁵⁰ Papers acknowledged that a citizen’s committee was handling the banishment campaign. The *News and Observer* reported on the eleventh that “the committee which has been attending to this war of purification tonight promised to desist” and “lay down their arms.”⁵¹

⁴⁸ Later reports showed that the adjutant general for the State of North Carolina was to pay as much as \$1,300 in costs for the services and transportation of the State Guard units brought into the city from other areas. Of that money, \$180.87 went to the Maxton company, \$112.13 to the Franklinton company, and \$259.00 to the Atlantic Coastline Railroad. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 26, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), December 8, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), December 9, 1898; “Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen,” State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁴⁹ Dancy fit easily into the role of an accommodationist and straddled white and black issues. New ministers had to be found as well. The 1900 city directory listed many new names of men who worked as a minister, many more than could be found in the 1897 city directory.

⁵⁰ L. H. Bryant, a white Populist, was 68 and had lived in Wilmington almost half of his life by the time of the riot. He was coerced into resigning his job as superintendent of streets and moved to Magnolia around the first of January, 1899. Bryant, like others, chose to leave in the months following the riot instead of immediately. *Contested Election Case*, 394-5.

⁵¹ *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

Differences of opinion on the continuation of the banishment campaign arose between members of the Secret Nine and other Democrats. Hayden credited Hugh MacRae with persuading J. Allan Taylor to stop Red Shirt Mike Dowling from continuing the banishment campaign.⁵²

In review, only a small number of prominent white and black leaders were made to leave the city by force. However, a large number, perhaps in the thousands, left in the days and weeks following the riot to make their homes elsewhere. The banishment campaign enabled the white leaders to extend their influence into the core of the African American community and remove those men deemed too dangerous to keep in the city because of the political or economic challenges they posed for whites. Those men banished by force were labeled for life by the ordeal, and, even if they tried to move beyond banishment, North Carolina Democrats with far reaching resources continually plagued their existence.⁵³

⁵² Hayden, *WLI*, 75.

⁵³ The *Star* continually tracked some of the men, including former mayor Silas Wright. In 1948 the paper informed its readers that a local man received word from an acquaintance in Detroit that Wright, then 90 years old, was living in that city. The last part of the article reminded readers that Wright and others on the Board of Aldermen were forced to resign their offices in 1898 in response to pressures from citizens. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), September 24, 1948.